

#5A
~~SECRET~~

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

June 6, 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Edmund S. Muskie *ESM*

1. Korea. On Wednesday Ambassador Gleysteen met with General Chon Doo Hwan and, at my request, asked him a number of questions concerning Chon's intentions and plans regarding constitutional reform and the future Korean political process. Chon's answers were evasive on some points and dissembling on some others, but he reveals a growing political interest and even sophistication. Chon is highly unlikely to return to the barracks and is determined to keep Kim Dae Jung and Kim Jong Pil out of the political process. While he recognizes the need to put some civilian garments on what is now a basically military regime, the methods he is considering for "legitimizing" the current power arrangements (e.g., holding a constitutional referendum and perhaps even elections with martial law in place) are inherently flawed.

I am convinced that we must focus our efforts in the weeks to come upon these political aims: (1) pressing Chon and his colleagues to provide for some popular participation in the political process; (2) easing the military out of politics (either by putting on mufti or returning to professional tasks); and (3) averting "show trials" of leading Korean politicians. To review the efficacy of these objectives and the best methods of pursuing them, I have asked two members of the East Asian Bureau to visit Seoul next week to consult with Gleysteen. I do not see an imminent need for a PRC meeting, but I will send you a summation memo with policy recommendations prior to our departure for Venice.

2. Iran at the U.N. We are sending for Don McHenry's use in New York a draft Security Council resolution designed to reinforce the ICJ decision. Don has gotten initial positive responses from the Tunisian, Philippine and Zambian

RDS - 2/3 6/6/00 (Muskie, Edmund) Department of State, A/GIS/IPS/SRP

~~SECRET~~

Change to _____
() Release () Excise () Deny () ☒ Declassify
Exemptions b () () E.O. 13526 25x () ()
Declassify after _____

With concurrence of: _____

obtained _____ not obt. _____
IPS by *QPS* Date *10-19-16*

~~SECRET~~

- 2 -

representatives and will begin to broaden his consultations. We are also working on the British, who were the only Western Council members to express a negative attitude toward the idea. We believe we can bring them on board. Our most difficult task will be to avoid either a Soviet veto or an attempt to amend our resolution by adding unacceptable language, particularly on the rescue operation.

3. Iranian Oil. At our urging, the British have successfully pressured Shell Oil not to buy a shipload of Iranian oil at \$33.50. The British stressed to us that this action posed considerable risk to future Shell possibilities in Iran and that they hope we will try to be helpful to the company, which has few alternative sources of crude oil.

4. Hidalgo Trip. Following up on our discussion at breakfast on Secretary Hidalgo's proposed trip to Latin America, I find that his office has asked State concurrence for his visits to Mexico, Panama, Venezuela, Brazil, Argentina and Chile. While we believe that the trip is a worthwhile one, I recommend that the Secretary not go to Chile and Argentina at this time. A stop in Chile would, I believe, be inconsistent with our current posture toward Chile because of its failure to take action in the Letelier case. With respect to Argentina, we are currently exploring means to improve our relationship (as you instructed) but I believe the initial step in that effort should be a visit by Bill Bowdler to Buenos Aires next month, to discuss improvements in human rights performance and progress in other areas. I think an Argentina visit by Secretary Hidalgo shortly before Bill's trip would be the wrong sequence.

5. Bolivia. The political situation remains tense and a military overthrow could occur within a few days. The military has reportedly sent emissaries to Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay, Brazil and Peru to seek commitments to recognize a new Bolivian regime and provide support as soon as a coup takes place. The restatement of U.S. support for democratic government made by the Department spokesman on Wednesday may have had some salutary delaying effect. The statement has, however, been harshly criticized in the Bolivian press, which today carried a military communique charging the U.S. and Ambassador Weissman with "interference" in Bolivian internal affairs. We are taking extra precautions for the safety of our official personnel during this uncertain period.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

- 4 -

9. Angola. We have been informed by Luanda Provincial Commissioner Mendes de Carvalho that American citizen George Gause, who had been held in an Angolian prison without charge since mid-1977, was released on June 4. We are seeking to confirm the report but have no reason to doubt its veracity. Carvalho had said during his visit to Washington in April that he would look into the Gause case upon his return to Luanda, and we regard Gause's release as a positive gesture by the Angolan Government. Three other Americans remain in Angolan jails.

~~SECRET~~

Carter Library

RAC 7 - NSA, BRZ Material, Subject File

Box 23

Evening Reports (State), 6/80